

# THE NEW REPUBLIC

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## **The Sunken Summit**

*The Editors*

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## **Bedside Reader for Intellectuals**

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*May 23, 1960, 25 cents*

# T.R.B.

from  
*Washington*

## *Foot in the Mouth*

★ A series of Administration blunders have endangered world peace. The rule is – spy but don't admit it; if caught, look the other way. The Administration spied, got caught, panicked, lied and then threw the fat in the fire by announcing in effect that aerial spying is now settled national policy. This sounded heroic for the moment but was contrary to international law and amounted to saying we intend to flaunt Soviet sovereignty.

It is now too late to point out how the Administration's holier-than-thou unction led us into this booby-trap. God knows, the hypocrisy of Moscow yields to none, but in attempting to extricate itself from one jam the self-righteous Administration slapped its chest into another. Alone among nations we are going to adopt aerial spying as avowed policy. This is provocative and probably untenable, angering enemies and embarrassing friends. Some things, in international as well as in marital relations, are better left unsaid. After blurring them out Eisenhower grimly went to Paris, an innocent abroad. How far Khrushchev meant to tighten tension, and whether Macmillan and de Gaulle could get us off the hook were questions too grim even to speculate about.

At a moment like this what is needed is not divisive partisanship but a rational discussion of the merits of the case. That is what Congressional debate is for – it illuminates issues and clears the air. We went up to the Senate aching to hear a good debate, but we got none of it; instead we saw Lyndon Johnson strike a statesmanlike pose and issue an appeal for national unity. One after another the Republican Senators congratulated

Johnson, including Vice President Nixon, and then somehow or other the thing got into a eulogy of J. Edgar Hoover – we aren't quite sure how except that Everett Dirksen made the transition. The upshot of it was that some sane, quiet words that might have given the country understanding and direction were not uttered.

As the Summit conference was falling apart in Paris, the Administration showed signs of disintegration at home. Two Atomic Energy Commissioners resigned. Dr. John H. Williams, operated on for cancer last January, said he was leaving for health reasons and would return to teaching. John F. Floberg, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in the Truman Administration, mentioned cryptically "a complex of reasons, largely personal." The White House named as Floberg's successor Loren K. Olsen, AEC General Counsel, whose associates had understood he was quitting this summer to enter private practice.

## *Eisenhower Against the GOP*

★ Sometimes it seems as though Eisenhower were doing his best to defeat Nixon. Not long ago he vetoed the water pollution bill and last week the depressed areas bill. He will presumably veto a school construction bill if it gets to him and other matters of like nature.

Eisenhower has rejected the idea of adding medical insurance for the aged to Social Security and has brought in a complicated substitute which, interestingly enough, both Governor Rockefeller and the *New York Times* find cumbersome and impractical. On top of this comes the spy plane fiasco. Democrats may benefit, of course, if the Republicans lose their best asset, the so-called Eisenhower "peace issue," but for our sake we hope it doesn't happen.

## *Kennedy's Quality*

★ Hubert Humphrey, defeated in West Virginia, can come back to be one of the best Senators in history if he puts his mind to it. Frankly, he is one of our favorites, and he has the gifts, we think, to be one of the most powerful liberal leaders since Norris, Borah and the LaFollettes. As for Kennedy, his string of victories in the primaries now puts the Democratic nomination almost within

reach. Truman's hasty announcement that he backs Symington, and the efforts of the Johnson leaders to put together a final "Stop Kennedy" movement, tell how desperately the West Virginia victory hurt. Adlai Stevenson may declare for Kennedy if the latter goes on to capture the Oregon primary this Friday.

It would be naïve not to attribute Kennedy's victory in West Virginia to part of his lavishly financed campaign, but we think his own personality and boldness were even more important. He took the risk of bringing the whispered religious issue out into the open and incidentally gave a rousing TV statement of personal independence from the Catholic hierarchy. The fact is there is a tough, not to say ruthless, quality about the young, self-possessed glamorous figure. His chief characteristic, perhaps, is a cool, dispassionate self-control and a kind of intellectual reserve that is hidden behind the youthful exterior. Of all the candidates, we think the real Kennedy is least like his public image; if we size him up correctly, he is at heart the patrician intellectual who dislikes excess and even tends to avoid emotional commitment: his courage was shown in the war and, if elected, he would bring ability and an appreciation of top-rate advisers to the White House. The question always before us is whether he would also bring passion and power.

## *A Man Emerges, Somehow*

★ A hundred years ago this week the dark horse Lincoln was nominated at the Wigwam in Chicago. We think about it always as we contemplate the gigantic hazard of the US election process. "To believers in the hands of providence in American history," wrote Professor Eugene Roseboom in his *History of Presidential Elections*, "the Chicago nomination must afford an amazing example of its mysterious ways. Midnight conferences of liquor-stimulated politicians, deals for jobs, local leaders pulling wires to save their state tickets, petty malice and personal jealousies – a strange compound, and the man of destiny emerges." As Harold Laski used to say, "Good luck in a lottery is no excuse for the lottery." Well, maybe Providence does look after Americans. We hope so. We need it.

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## The Sunken Summit

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The President said often enough we would not negotiate under threats, that we would not bow to a Soviet ultimatum on Berlin or any other subject. Did he think Khrushchev would? If the four-power talks last more than three hours – and as of this writing the life-span of the Summit is in doubt – it will be a triumph of sense over anger. But whatever happens, we have witnessed a humiliating indictment of US diplomatic mismanagement. A week ago, the President had an option, had he possessed the foresight to seize it. A spy plane had been shot down; a contrived cover story had been issued and then denied; the damage was done. An apology, if not a denial, was in order. The President had faced this problem before. On February 10, 1959, responding to a question about a US Air Force C-130 that had been shot down five months earlier over Soviet Armenia, Mr. Eisenhower denied that this or any other plane was "playing fox and hounds" on the Soviet border and said that provocative flights were "contrary to orders" that he "personally" had issued to military commanders of the United States.

It would have been embarrassing to confess, in the Powers instance, that the Commander-in-Chief had not been aware of US reconnaissance missions 1,300 miles inside Soviet territory. But he need not have done that. He could have said at once, as he felt compelled later to say in Paris, that the fly-overs have been suspended and are not to be resumed. Instead, days before the Summit, an ultimatum was delivered to Mr. Khrushchev: The fly-overs were necessary and would continue. And the Congress took up the cry.

Rep. Clarence Cannon of Missouri informed his colleagues that the Powers mission had been blessed by an authority higher than the President: "Before occupying the Promised Land, Moses 'by the commandment of the Lord' sent out from the wilderness of Paran 10 men under the direction of Joshua to spy out the land." Thus having established the ancient and pre-atomic lineage of fly-overs, Mr. Cannon went on to submit that "his [Khrushchev's] discovering that since 1956, for four years, CIA has been sending planes across his frontier – and as far as 1,300 miles into the interior without his knowing it – is the occasion of this outburst. We have demonstrated conclusively that free men confronted by the most ruthless and criminal despotism can under the Constitution of the United States protect this nation and serve world civilization."

John Taber (R, N.Y.) replied that: "Each side must be given the

right to inspect and examine what the situation might be on the other side. . . . When the leader of Russia refused us that right, the only method we had and the only chance we had was to get out and do just what was being done by this pilot."

How did we expect Mr. Khrushchev to respond? Obviously, as James Reston wrote from Paris last Sunday, "Khrushchev cannot acquiesce in what amounts to a threat to defy the authority of the Soviet Government over its own territory." It will be surprising indeed if Mr. Khrushchev does not persist in his demand for a categorical renunciation of any alleged "right" to send aircraft over the territory of another country without that country's permission. And if he presses this demand at the United Nations – coupling it with warnings of possible Soviet aerial retaliation – on whose side will "world civilization" be recorded?

Mr. Cannon said that "espionage has been throughout recorded history an integral part of warfare." That is true, but it fails to acknowledge that we are not at war; and the flaw in his argument is deeper than that: The question here is not the necessity for espionage, but the wisdom of risking this sort of illicit and ill-timed espionage in light of larger diplomatic objectives. The fly-overs cannot be seen in perspective unless two things are kept in view: First, the evidence of the past several years that for practical reasons of its own the Soviet Union seriously wants to avoid military hostilities; and second, that an avowed policy of violating the air space of other countries in the interest of intelligence-gathering risks not the lives of a few secret agents but risks alienating host countries where we have our bases, the neutral nations, and perhaps even peace itself. One need only ask what this country would do, how restrained its response would be, should the Russians accept what appeared to be our new doctrine of the propriety of fly-overs? Let us imagine how public opinion would react should the Soviet Union at some point attempt aerial reconnaissance over the Ohio – launched, say, from Cuban bases – and what consequences would flow from our determination not to tolerate this infringement of our sovereignty?

### *Fear of Surprise Attack*

What of the argument of necessity? Our military leaders, and the civilians who are close to them, have for years been obsessed with the danger of surprise attack. It is the nightmare which haunts their sleeping and waking hours and that justifies resort to desperate expedients. They all remember Pearl Harbor, and like all military men they tend to prepare for the last war.

If they are right, if the danger of surprise attack is as great as they think (though this was not the conclusion of a US Army analysis of Soviet military strategy, as reported in *The New York Times* on May 4), then

there are times when, balancing the need to know against the risks of provocation, they are justified in resorting to highly dangerous means of gaining the information needed to prevent the surprise. The question is whether the present danger is that great.

It seems to us that for psychological as well as political reasons, it is as improbable that the Russians would launch a surprise attack on us as that we would launch one on them in cold blood. It is when tensions reach their highest pitch – a pitch of intense crisis – that the danger of their doing so would become real, and this would provide its own warning. A surprise attack would not come out of a clear blue sky but only out of an exceedingly stormy sky. The Powers mission and its initial defense by the Administration helped raise those tensions. An obsession with surprise attack led the government to resort to desperate acts that have increased the very danger that it fears.

Could Mr. Khrushchev have turned the other cheek, accepting private assurances of the President and permitting the Summit to proceed with some chance of accomplishment? It was Khrushchev, after all, who had worked hardest to drag the Western leaders to Paris. He had watered down his ultimatum on Berlin for the benefit of Mr. Eisenhower at Camp David; he had placated de Gaulle's Great Power vanity through a preliminary visit to France; he had been on appropriate occasions a model of sweetness and light so as to strengthen Prime Minister Macmillan's faith in the promise of negotiations. And he had done all this, though he believes in eventual victory of Communism, because, it appeared, he has no taste for the Pyrrhic victory of an atomic war, preferring victory in so-called "peaceful competition" with that has-been of history – "world capitalism." He needed time, he still needs time, to take the Soviet Union into the long-awaited and long-deferred consumer age. He needed time to turn his East-European empire into something other than a military and political liability. The history of post-Stalin Russia has been one of trying to restore room for maneuver where the old dictator left none.

But some weeks before the shooting down of the U-2 jet, it must have been apparent to Mr. Khrushchev that the Summit would reward him with little, if anything. Recent speeches of Secretary Herter and Undersecretary Dillon made it increasingly doubtful that any agreement could be reached on the items at the top of Khrushchev's agenda: Berlin and disarmament. To consolidate the Communist regimes in East Europe Khrushchev has been frantically eager to get rid of Western "meddling." More than anything, he has wanted to be rid of that West Berlin outpost of prosperity and freedom, so that the status quo could be more firmly established along the River Elbe. At the same time if an agreement limiting armaments could be reached, Soviet manpower and resources might be

released for his economic offensive at home and in the underdeveloped areas abroad. Success at the Summit, however partial, might also put a brake on the hostility of those inside the Communist *bloc* who have opposed a policy of relaxation. The Chinese, in particular, have never subscribed to Khrushchev's thesis of peaceful co-existence. And at home, growing consumer demands, the near break-down of the distribution system in past months, and the growing impact of Western cultural influence on Soviet society have added ammunition to his opponents' fire.

### *Where Do We Go Now?*

Under these circumstances – his fading hopes and resistance within his own circle – what was more understandable than for the Soviet Premier to exploit the US blunder to the maximum, forcing us on to the defensive? What better tactic now than to fall in with his critics, to paint his Western adversaries in the darkest color, to cast suspicion on their aims and to pull the welcome mat out from under Mr. Eisenhower? But that tactic has its limitations, too. Mr. Khrushchev's problem is deciding just how rude he can be, how much capital he can make out of the spy incident without hurling the world back into the iciest grip of the Cold War. Assuming that the Western powers still think Mr. Khrushchev is their present best bet for peace, their problem now is how gracefully to save *his* face and still get him to compromise.

It will not be easy. Candor in this country would help. Mr. K has made it extremely difficult for Americans to criticize the Administration as sharply as it deserves and extremely hard to admit that there is any justice in Khrushchev's indignation. But false pride and the old polemics will not help us. The British in the past have demonstrated that candor need not be unpatriotic. Four years ago, with British troops already committed to the Suez invasion, the British press and members of Parliament did not feel honor-bound to justify the government's violation of international law. Two of the leading newspapers – the *Observer* and the *Guardian* – did not rally 'round, because they were convinced the government was wrong, and when the government has made a mistake, it is the job of responsible leaders to say so.

It may well be that passions have become too aroused for there to be any hope left that East-West negotiations can be resumed with profit in the immediate future. If so, this Administration must take a large share, though not all, of the blame: it set off a storm and raised it to hurricane-level. Perhaps, when Mr. Khrushchev speaks of renewing the negotiations in six to eight months, he is saying – as many loyal Americans have said before him – that this Administration's usefulness has come to an end.

## Kennedy on the Crest

"I don't think there's any fight left. It's just a problem of seeing how fast they come into line," a Kennedy aide commented when West Virginia was over. And key figures in the July 11 Democratic convention do appear to be moving toward acceptance of Senator Kennedy as their Presidential candidate. Some, like Brooklyn leader Joseph T. Sharkey, frankly feel that "we'd better get on the bandwagon or it will run us over." Sharkey, Bronx leader Charles Buckley, and Jersey City boss John W. Kenny were waiting to hop aboard as soon as the returns from the West Virginia primary were in. Kennedy is thereby assured of a majority of New York's 114 convention votes on the first ballot and of New Jersey's 41 on the second. It is frustrating to the Kennedy team, however, to discover how many substantial party leaders are determined to reach their final decision with all deliberate speed.

Since West Virginia, a sizable scattering of delegates from smaller states have heeded Kennedy's call to run, don't walk, to the nearest telephone to pledge themselves to him. In Iowa and Kansas where there was little Kennedy sentiment before, delegates are now leaning heavily in his direction. Some Humphrey leaders have already turned to Hubert's successful opponent: Lt. Gov. Phileo Nash in Wisconsin and Joseph Rauh in the District of Columbia have announced their switch. More of Humphrey's remaining 50 votes will also go to Kennedy now. But the Senator from Massachusetts still needs a stampede to come to Los Angeles a winner before the convention begins, and he may get it.

Kennedy is not counting on Stuart Symington or Lyndon Johnson to concede the ball game before it opens – although even after Harry Truman's endorsement the Senator from Missouri remains a weak contender. The most generous estimate of Symington's probable first ballot strength is 250 votes (of 761 needed for nomination), but 100 is probably a more realistic figure. Johnson has lost ground in recent weeks. In the Deep South states that intend to send independent electors to Los Angeles there is serious talk of backing Georgia's Sen. Herman Talmadge instead of the "moderate" Texan, as has been expected. And in recent conventions Kennedy has made off with three Western delegations Johnson was counting on: Arizona, Nevada and Wyoming. Johnson will almost certainly have 450 or more votes on the opening ballot, however, and at some point Speaker Rayburn and Mr. Truman will almost certainly put their heads together to see whether by forgetting "personalities," they can add 450 and 100 and come up with 761.

Kennedy, of course, would like to make that trip to the summit unnecessary by winning before the first ballot. To that end he is concentrating on the important people not yet positively committed: Governors Lawr-

ence, Brown, Williams and Meyner, Mayor Daley of Chicago and ex-Governor Adlai Stevenson. Quiet meetings are going on between Kennedy men and these and other important "holdouts." Some are asking for a more precise idea of the candidate's program on civil rights. Some may be asking themselves whether West Virginia proved that Kennedy can overcome religious prejudice sufficiently to win nationally. And others are distinctly unhappy at Senator Kennedy's toleration of Franklin Roosevelt, Jr.'s draft-dodging charges against Humphrey.

The Kennedy camp is relying on the May 20 Oregon primary to convince the lingering doubters. Those who know Oregon Democratic politics best – excepting Wayne Morse – predict that Kennedy will defeat the Favorite Son candidate, perhaps by a good margin. If that happens, pressure on Adlai Stevenson to declare for Kennedy will grow intense. After all, he volunteered to Mrs. Maurine Neuberger that if Kennedy won in Oregon "he has a right to the nomination." The combined strength of Johnson and Symington – if it can be combined – will not be enough to block an early Kennedy victory unless Stevenson continues neutral and available. If Stevenson decides at any point that he does not choose to run and prefers the certainty of Kennedy to the possibility of Symington or Johnson, he has only to make that known and the ball game will be over.

## The "Sit-Ins" Continue

News of the Southern "sit-ins," now in their second 100 days, has been moved to the inside pages; yet, the vitality of the movement is apparent from new demonstrations against segregation which have occurred since our "sit-in" reports of April 25 and May 2:

**Beaumont (Tex.):** Sit-in by Lamar Tech students at downtown lunch counters.

**Hopewell (Va.):** Requests for desegregation ignored by merchants; picket-line training planned by Hopewell Improvement Association.

**Charlottesville (Va.):** Negroes played tennis on previously white court; police indicated action would be taken only in event of disturbance.

**Lawrenceville (Va.):** Saint Paul's College students unanimously voted "recess" from segregated movie house.

**Montgomery (Ala.):** Negroes occupied the municipal library reading room.

**San Antonio (Tex.):** Sit-ins as well as picketing were employed against a department store which had desegregated its basement cafeteria but not its restaurants.

**Augusta (Ga.):** Negroes sat in white section of city bus; all were arrested.

In some cities where earlier demonstrations had occurred, there have been breakthroughs. In Austin,

Texas, an ultimatum to merchants (April 21) was followed by a mile-long march by an interracial group of University of Texas students on April 29. Two days later, three downtown variety stores began serving groups of up to 3 or 4 on a desegregated basis, though the Negroes were told counters would be closed if larger groups appeared. About 15 Negro students were served in a white cafeteria at Houston's Greyhound Bus Station on April 25; and in Dallas, a Negro minister was served at three previously all-white lunch counters.

## Isolation of South Africa

The British Commonwealth has no military unity – half of its members have refused to commit themselves to one side or the other in the Cold War. Its economic unity is insubstantial. Commonwealth preference is steadily losing its meaning, and Canada is not a member of the sterling area. The one undeniable bond which has so far kept its members together is a unique degree of mutual confidence.

The South African Government's policy of *apartheid* has posed a fundamental challenge to this mutual confidence because it is based on a conception of racial superiority which is incompatible with the existence of a multiracial Commonwealth. The Sharpeville massacres compelled Britain to recognize that *apartheid* had to be discussed at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference which has just ended, if only informally, because it could no longer be considered simply as a matter of domestic jurisdiction. But the behavior of the South African Foreign Minister, Mr. Louw, who spoke for the convalescent Mr. Verwoerd, has forced everyone to admit that informal discussion will not suffice. In a public press conference Mr. Louw implied that the other Commonwealth Ministers in London were either the dupes of incompetent or dishonest civil servants or were secretly in agreement with *apartheid*. The Malaysian Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, exploded into a violent attack on Mr. Louw and said he could no longer sit in the same room with him – and the Malaysian trade unions have now decided to operate a total boycott on South African imports. Ghana has cancelled an invitation for Mr. Louw to visit there and has announced its intention to offer Commonwealth passports to refugees from South Africa.

Two months ago there seemed to be no support for the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth – now it seems more likely than not. When South Africa becomes a republic later this year she will have to apply afresh for membership, and then a single country will be able to veto her admission. It is increasingly probable that if South Africa is not expelled more than one of the Afro-Asian members will find it impossible to stay in the Commonwealth with her.

# The Mood in Paris

## Paris

The delegations will remember Paris in May, 1960 – and not only for the bitter remarks of Mr. Khrushchev. This capital, responding to the wishes of the foreign visitors who love it, is more than ever resplendent, enjoying exceptionally fine weather, open to the world of Thought and Pleasure, but crossed too by troubles. Algerian terrorism seeks to impose its presence. It succeeds, more or less; still, it has against it all the police forces of the world. The various missions, in fact, arrived with extraordinary security services. Between the police and the tourists, how is one to tell one from another any more? When one remembers that each delegation has set up an unending list of suspects and enemies, one is inclined to believe that the entire population of Paris is caught in one camp or another.

On the screen there is now being presented the renowned film by Fellini, *La Dolce Vita*, which has caused scandal everywhere and which is a description, more or less genial, of the exasperations of pleasure-seeking in a threatened society. Threatened by what? Fellini does not clearly say. One of his protagonists suggests the answer by killing his children and committing suicide so as not to have to witness the end of the world. Actually, it is a portrayal of the downfall of a certain Roman aristocracy, but the transposition is easy and, in any case, is deeply felt in Paris. Everything is happening as if nuclear missiles, interspatial rockets, the decline of the sense of values according to which the West has lived have all revealed the inhuman future that lies in store.

This Summit conference, in which no one believes and which by now may be over, is expressive of all these feelings. Perhaps it is one of the last attempts of the white Christian West to settle accounts. That Russia is geographically and in its origins part of this white, Christian Western World, de Gaulle believes, and Nehru, last Sunday, confirmed it. The four heads of State do not represent half of the population of the planet. They are all heads of nations that are on the top or near it. They are all uncertain as to what to do with China, as well as with Africa and all of Asia. All powerful because they possess the secrets of the end of the world, they are also the most threatened, because – even counting the Russians – they are only protected minorities.

What is the force that weighs heaviest in the balance today? The U-2 plane incident over Soviet territory? No doubt, but much less than other events that have recently occurred. First it was Turkey, then

Korea, and now it is South Viet Nam. Tomorrow it will be Greece, then Spain. A long list of Western countries had attempted to erect anti-Communist bastions which are in the process of disintegrating from within, of breaking asunder even without Chinese or Soviet subversion: Western mistakes alone will have confirmed the prophecy of Mr. Khrushchev that capitalism is its own grave digger.

There comes a time when the most thoughtful newspapermen ask the question: "Are we not showing the world that Western values have failed? Aren't all these students in all the countries that we have protected now discovering for themselves that our system is corrupt and that it is supported only by the power of the past?"

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd came here prepared with a code of "good conduct" which should define the principles of coexistence. Having failed to reach an agreement on disarmament, on Berlin, and on "disengagement," will a code of good conduct suffice? On East-West rivalry in the underdeveloped countries, on subversion in the zones reputed to be Western or Soviet, and even on spying, one would like to be able to agree on principles which, even if they are not scrupulously respected (nobody has any illusions about spying, for example), will reveal a desire to settle problems amicably. But can even that be done?

Outside an eventual agreement on the interdiction of nuclear tests, it is impossible to see how the Russian and American theses on general disarmament can be reconciled. A few days ago there appeared in Paris the latest issue of the *American Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, which shows the gigantic problems which would arise in the economy of the United States, even at the beginning of disarmament. People believe they see in it the explanation of the power and autonomy of the Pentagon with respect to the Eisenhower Administration. People believe they see in it the impossibility for the President of the United States to adopt policies which would have a chance of bringing about genuine disarmament. In any event, the US demand for a reduction in land forces running parallel to progressive disarmament is categorically refused by the Russians.

There remains West Berlin, an obsession with the Russians that is as profound as the fear in the United States of a Pearl Harbor attack by Russia. These two fears govern diplomatic attitudes and undermine every chance of reaching agreements.

JEAN DANIEL

## Why Come to Washington?

If anyone wonders why effective members of federal regulatory agencies are so scarce in this Administration, he need look no farther than two recent statements by the President on the departure of agency members.

The first was addressed to the man departing. The President wrote: "You have served tirelessly, loyally, effectively – and with dedication. For your public service over many years . . . you have earned the appreciation of your fellow citizens and of the Administration."

The second comment was made by the President when he was asked why he was not planning to reappoint an agency member. In a tone of annoyance he said: "I think I can get a better man, that's all."

The first statement was addressed to John C. Doerfer, who would be high on any informed person's list of the worst chairmen of the Federal Communications Commission. Mr. Doerfer made no secret of the fact that he did not believe in regulation of television and more or less openly voted to give valuable channels to those he considered friendly to his party and himself. He quit after taking favors from a broadcaster and being caught in a lie to reporters about the episode.

The man who rated the President's rude dismissal was William R. Connole, said to have been the most effective – indeed the only effective – member of the Federal Power Commission for the last five years. Mr. Connole fought alone to stop the rapid rise of natural gas prices, and in two major cases his solitary dissents were vindicated by a unanimous Supreme Court.

## April's Prosperity

Wishing, perhaps, to point with pride to the nation's prosperity – since little that is self-congratulatory could be said at that moment about the peace of the world – the President at his May 11 press conference announced the April statistics on the condition of the economy slightly ahead of their normal release time.

The figures look fine. In the first quarter of 1960, for the first time in history, the gross national product – the value, that is of all US goods and services produced – reached an annual rate above the half-trillion mark: \$500,200,000,000. Employment in April exceeded the March figure by 1.9 million – the biggest postwar gain for any quarter – with 66,159,000 workers in jobs. Unemployment was down by 550,000.

That was the bright side. When viewed as part of a trend, the figures were less encouraging. The atrocious weather that afflicted much of the country in March had made March a month of bad news and provided a lower-than-usual base from which the improvement from March to April was measured; delayed spring work was responsible to a considerable extent for the

upsurge in agriculture and construction; and the rise in retail trade might be attributed to some extent to the same cause. Employment in manufacturing, which has limped for some time, was actually down slightly.

The more-than-half-million drop in unemployment still left 3,660,000 people looking for work. This is 5 percent of the labor force, and while the March unemployment figure was 5.4 percent, that for February had been 4.8 percent, and even this figure is above the usual rate for good times.

The April take-home pay of factory workers was affected for the fourth consecutive month by a drop in the length of the work-week: It was 39.4 hours this April as compared with 40.3 hours a year earlier.

So what do the figures really mean?

They mean that while the bad weather is over, the economic buoyancy of the turn of the year, when inventories were being built up after the end of the steel strike, is over too. During early weeks after the settlement, steel production ran about 95 percent of capacity; it is now running at around 74 percent. It was the process of accumulating those inventories that took the GNP over the half-trillion mark. The economy appears to be on a high plateau rather than an upgrade. Will it rest there over the next months, or will growth be resumed?

In government and out, in their search for an answer, economists are scrutinizing what is happening to credit. The Federal Reserve's tight money policy – intended to dampen demand for credit – looks as though it has taken hold. For more than nine months, the trend-line in the money supply – demand deposits plus currency in circulation – has been pretty consistently down. At the moment, the Federal Reserve insists that it is neither encouraging nor discouraging credit demand. But if the May figures indicate that the economy is still close to resting on dead center, the Federal Reserve may be obliged to take a less neutral position and make borrowing more attractive.

## Knowledge for Use

This month Robert S. Lynd retires as professor of sociology at Columbia University. And if the recently appointed Committee on National Goals is interested in formulating long-term objectives for the country which will rely upon research rather than litany, the members would do well to study Lynd's *Knowledge for What?* Published in 1939, *Knowledge for What?* remains a devastating comment on social scientists who prefer the relative comfort of "lecturing on navigation while the ship is going down."

Lynd's first study was *Middletown*; a brilliantly rich perspective of "the American way." It came out in 1929 at the birth of the great depression and the death of the assumption that the unhampered workings of a

"free" economy would best guarantee both private and public welfare. This study, along with *Middletown in Transition* (1937) and *Knowledge for What?*, strongly suggested the need for planning our national purposes.

Lynd, who will now devote himself to completing what promises to be his major work – a theoretical

essay on the nature of power – has shown that it is possible to combine sensitivity to the personal needs of his fellow man, the standards of a scholar determined to describe what society is, and the humanity of a citizen who believes the social sciences should be tools for building a social order worthy of the best in man.

## ADENAUER HUGS THE OLD LANDMARKS

# Germany – Don't Give an Inch

Bonn

Rightly or wrongly, Chancellor Adenauer and his Government have – as far as the Summit talks this week in Paris are concerned – decided to move back in time to the position of embattled defense which they assumed at the period of Khrushchev's historic ultimatum to West Berlin, in November, 1958. Some weeks back, West German policies for the Summit seemed to be in the melting-pot. From Britain, Prime Minister Macmillan was still cautiously advancing arguments in favor of a new flexibility. Dr. Adenauer was having consultations with the Social Democratic Lord Mayor of West Berlin, Willy Brandt, whose resistance to Hitler and close links with Norway and Britain have helped to give him an empirical viewpoint. Adenauer had, moreover, relapsed into an enigmatic mood – he was not busily canvassing Western opinion, as he did at the same time last year, on the need to present an unbroken and purely static front to the Communist challenge. His advisers were hinting that "the Old One" had something up his sleeve, perhaps even a proposal which would break the deadlock of the two German states.

The Chancellor did break his stoic silence in Washington. He proposed a referendum in West Berlin on the city's status. At first, some people who should have known better thought that the Chancellor was honestly pressing for a pilot-scheme which could serve as a model for Germany as a whole.

Later, however, Dr. Adenauer made it clear to West German newspapermen in the Bonn Press Club that the referendum in West Berlin was to serve a purely defensive purpose. It would even be used, he explained, against any members of the Western Alliance who were prepared to negotiate a new "statute" for Berlin. For Britain (or the United States) could be told that the people of West Berlin, 2.3 million of them, had already opted for the maintenance of the city's present status, and it would be contrary to the spirit of democracy to override the voice of the people. The Chancellor then underlined the purely defensive nature of his diplo-

macy at the Christian Democratic Party Congress in Karlsruhe at the end of April. He spoke of "atheistic Communism" being the "greatest danger to peace in Europe," urged the Western powers not to let their policies "be dictated in advance" by Khrushchev, and appealed to them to stand firm in Paris.

Chancellor Adenauer has instructed his Foreign Minister to echo his sentiments, and von Brentano has obliged. On April 22 he declared that the Soviet Union would apply "tremendous pressure" against Berlin at Paris and that the Western Powers must therefore concentrate all their energies on defense. This means refusal to discuss the Berlin issue separately and, preferably, refusal to talk about German problems at all until progress had been made in the field of general, controlled disarmament. Failing progress, the Western Powers must dig in for an indefinite period on their present, prepared positions. This general approach was subsequently ratified by the 15 Atlantic Allies on May 2 in Istanbul, when the NATO foreign ministers endorsed the very old idea of a plebiscite for *all* Germany, a proposal repeatedly rejected by the Soviet Union.

Why is Adenauer "putting up the shutters" long before it is certain what Soviet policies at the Summit talks will be? He honestly believes that the Soviet Union will make no concessions over Germany, and there has been nothing in a single one of Khrushchev's recent statements to suggest that the Chancellor is wrong about this. Furthermore, Adenauer dislikes plans for Germany which come from his Western partners: he rejected the Macmillan plan for a "pilot-scheme zone" of limited and equalized armaments in Central Europe; he took not the slightest interest in the Herter Plan for a national referendum – though von Brentano went along with it in Istanbul; he believes that he alone can judge what has to be done for Germany.

The Chancellor has been affected, perhaps even oppressed, by the prolific nature of Soviet proposals for a solution of the German question. The Russians have

either thrown up or inspired plans for a Confederation of two German States, for all-German talks in order to "narrow differences" between those two States, for the negotiation of a peace treaty (or two separate peace treaties with the two German States), for the creation of a "Free City" of Berlin, for the step-by-step creation of such a "Free City," and for the phased withdrawal of foreign troops from German soil, and for a "nuclear-free zone" in Central Europe. In producing these plans the Soviet Union has steadily maintained the diplomatic initiative: it has put the Western Powers at a severe propaganda disadvantage.

Adenauer has also been adversely affected by the weight, persistence and occasional perspicacity of Communist attacks on the Federal Republic. The fantastic muddle over the Federal Minister for Refugees, Professor Theodor Oberlaender, has been one result of this Communist propaganda campaign. The next member of the Cabinet on the Communist list for vilification is Herr Seeböhm, Federal Minister for Transport. The Russians and East Germans have attacked the West German army, judiciary, civil service. Their accusations always have a grain of truth in them, and they have found ready listeners in the Western democracies. This has demoralized leading West Germans far more than can be imagined outside Germany.

Of course, Adenauer is already – prematurely – fighting the 1961 Federal Election. There was a time when electioneering really did not start until four months before the balloting. In 1957 Dr. Adenauer was campaigning 10 months in advance. The Chancellor is obsessed now with the 1961 election partly because he

knows how shallow the roots of German democracy are, partly because he has an old man's aversion to losing an argument, partly because he fears the potential rivalry of the still youthful Willy Brandt. Fighting the 1961 election means convincing the German electorate that its dearest wishes will receive skilled attention. What are those wishes? To exploit the economic benefits of the amazing, still continuing "German Economic Miracle," to retain the sure support of the Western democracies, and not to indulge in any dangerous experiments in Central Europe.

Adenauer sincerely believes that his purely defensive policies have great advantages: Another Berlin crisis might be averted; Western Germany can proceed to integrate itself even more closely with the rest of Western Europe; Khrushchev may be diverted into the potentially fruitful field of disarmament; we can continue stalling for time! This is the ultimate aim of Adenauer's diplomacy, after 15 years of a divided Germany, and of Communist exploitation and repression of its Eastern half. At Karlsruhe, the Chancellor said he was "still optimistic" about German reunification. That cannot be taken too seriously. On the very same day, the East German government produced its commentary: the Ministry for Cultural Affairs ordered that no atlas or map published in books or newspapers should use the word "Germany." The two German States should be marked as the "German Democratic Republic" and "Western Germany," and the frontier between them should be marked in exactly the same way as the frontiers between any two sovereign states.

TERENCE PRITTE

## Dialogue of the Week – May 5-12

May 5 – "Early in the morning [May 1] at 0536 hours, Moscow time, an American plane flew over our frontier and continued its flight into the interior of the Soviet land. The plane was shot down." – Khrushchev.

"The State Department admitted the possibility that the plane, identified here as an unarmed U-2 weather reconnaissance craft of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, might have crossed the Soviet frontier by accident." – *The New York Times*.

"One of NASA's U-2 research airplanes, in use since 1956 in a continuing program to study gust-meteorological conditions found at high altitude, has been missing since 9 o'clock Sunday morning (local time) when its pilot reported he was having oxygen difficulties over the Lake Van, Turkey area. . . . The pilot, as are all

pilots used on NASA's program of upper-atmosphere research with the U-2 airplane, is a civilian employed by the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, builders of the airplane." – *Official statement of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration*.

May 6 – "There was absolutely no deliberate attempt to violate Soviet air space and there never has been."

– Lincoln White, for the State Department.

"A United States National Aeronautical and Space Agency unarmed weather research plane based at Adana, Turkey, and piloted by a civilian American has been missing since May 1." – *US note sent to the Soviet Foreign Ministry*.

"The Government has grounded for 15 days all for-

eign-based U-2 weather observation planes of the type believed to have been shot down by Soviet border fire last Sunday. A spokesman for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration said the weather research flights abroad were halted to permit checking of equipment, particularly of the oxygen systems." – *NY Times*

May 7 – "As a result of the inquiry ordered by the President, it has been established that insofar as the authorities are concerned, there was no authorization for any such flights as described by Mr. Khrushchev. Nevertheless, it appears that in endeavoring to obtain information now concealed behind the Iron Curtain a flight over Soviet territory was probably undertaken by an unarmed civilian U-2 plane." – *State Department announcement, cleared by the President.*

"Comrades, I must tell you a secret. When I was making my report, I deliberately did not say that the pilot was alive and in good health and that we have got parts of the plane. We did so deliberately because had we told everything at once, the Americans would have invented another version. . . . If an aircraft of ours intruded beyond the borders of the USA and flew 2,000 kilometers over their territory, how could [Americans] view that? Perhaps [they] would do better to seek a reply from Allen Dulles, at whose instructions the American aircraft flew over the Soviet Union." – *Khrushchev.*

"Premier Khrushchev said today that Francis G. Powers . . . has confessed he was spying. The Premier submitted film, money, weapons and suicide kit as proof and indicated the flier will be tried." – *AP dispatch from Moscow.*

"Secretary of State Christian A. Herter, returning to Washington late yesterday, from 10 days of conference overseas, called on the Soviet Union to halt its 'attack' on all members of the Western Alliance if it really wants to reduce tension." – *The Washington Post.*

May 9 – "Allen Dulles, head of the Central Intelligence Agency . . . expressed full confidence in Mr. Powers and gave a glowing account of his four-year service record." – *James Reston, The New York Times.*

" . . . The U-2's flight plan on May 1, which according to Mr. Khrushchev was to take it straight across the Soviet Union, from south to north, was not unusual. . . . It seems likely, judging from the Soviet revelations and the US Government's somewhat equivocal admissions, that similar flights had occurred in the past. . . . The whole history of the U-2 project, as revealed piecemeal in Washington and through Mr. Khrushchev's assertions, shows clearly that the activities were managed and probably closely directed by Washington."

– *Hanson W. Baldwin, The New York Times*

"In accordance with the National Security Act of 1947, the President has put into effect since the beginning of his Administration directives to gather by every possible means the information required to protect the United States and the free world against surprise attack and to enable them to make effective preparations for their defense. Under these directives programs have been developed and put into operation which have included extensive aerial surveillance by unarmed civilian aircraft, normally of a peripheral character but on occasion by penetration. Specific missions of these unarmed civilian aircraft have not been subject to Presidential authorization." – *Secretary Herter.*

"Those countries that have bases on their territories should note most carefully the following: If they allow others to fly from their bases to our territory we shall hit at these bases because we assess such actions as provocations against our country. . . . As a warning to remote targets, we shall find the range to the near ones." – *Khrushchev.*

May 10 – "The United States has undertaken certain commitments in the multilateral and bilateral arrangements for the common defense existing between this Government and those which once again appear to be subjected to a policy of intimidation by the Soviet Government. There should be no doubt that the United States will honor those commitments." – *State Department announcement by Lincoln White.*

"How should we view all of this activity? It is a distasteful but vital necessity. . . . Open societies, in the day of present weapons, are the only answer. This was the reason for my 'open skies' proposal in 1955 which I was ready instantly to put into effect – to permit aerial observation over the United States and the Soviet Union which would assure that no surprise attack was being prepared against anyone. . . . The emphasis given to a flight of an unarmed non-military plane can only reflect a fetish of secrecy." – *President Eisenhower.*

"The Government of the USA, in the first place, testifies to the fact that its answers to representation of the Soviet Government were only for the sake of form, behind which was a concealed effort to avoid the substance of the issue, and that all violations by American aircraft of national boundaries of the USSR represented actions conforming to USA policy. In the second place, and this is the main point, by sanctioning such action of American aviation, the Government of the USA aggravates the situation even more. . . . Does all this mean that, with the refusal of a number of states to accept this proposal for "open skies" the United States of America is attempting arbitrarily to take upon itself

the right to "open" a foreign sky? – *Soviet note to the US.*

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*May 11* – "Herter's statement has made us doubt the correctness of our earlier conclusion that the President, the American Government, did not know about the flight. Herter's statement says the plan was indorsed by the Government. . . . An aggression has been committed against our country, and we shall continue routing all the aggressors. . . . – *Khrushchev.*

"Now, this business of saying that you're doing things that are provocative, why, they had better look at their own record. And I'll tell you this: the US and none of its Allies I know of has engaged in nothing that would be considered honestly as provocative." – *Eisenhower.*

"Supposing, before my visit to the US, we had sent a

plane over there and they had shot it down. One can imagine the kind of welcome I would have got from Americans. They would have met me according to my just deserts." – *Khrushchev.*

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*May 12* – "In its note the Soviet Government has stated that the collection of intelligence about the Soviet Union by American aircraft is a 'calculated policy' of the United States. The United States Government does not deny that it has pursued such a policy for purely defensive purposes. What it emphatically does deny is that this policy has any aggressive intent, or that the unarmed U-2 flight of May 1 was undertaken in an effort to prejudice the success of the forthcoming meeting of the heads of government in Paris or to 'return the state of American-Soviet relations to the worst times of the cold war'." – *US note to the USSR.*

## Not Just Stupid, But Right!

by Henry O. St. Onge

Events of the past several years have caused many sober critics, among them Hans Morgenthau in this journal, to inquire about the moral climate of this nation. Widespread cheating on income tax returns, Madison Avenue-ized politics, rigged television shows, payola scandals – these have been seized upon as examples of moral laxness. I agreed with the critics' charges and sympathized when little or nothing was done to purify the atmosphere. But not until the past few days did I recognize how near the abyss we are. And the realization did not come about because of Dick Clark.

My reaction to the news of the Russian capture of an American pilot was outrage – outrage that the Government of the United States of America would dare to jeopardize the lives of billions of people by such a flagrant act of aggression. We, the spokesman and defender of the Free World, had clearly committed an unpardonable action. Surely, I felt, here was an issue to channel the righteous forces of American public opinion; and as long as no immediate, serious damage had been done, some good might come of it. Integrity, probity, decency have long been America's strong suit. Although individuals may err, our government is honorable. Such were my first thoughts.

Several days have elapsed. No responsible voice, unless it is that of Congressman Bowles, has admitted that our action was wrong. Congressional leaders have charged the men immediately responsible, whoever

they might be, with stupidity. "It really isn't a question of right," Senator Case of New Jersey told some college students, "it is a question of what has to be done." And Hanson Baldwin of *The New York Times* philosophized: "It is part of the world we live in. Values often become mixed and truth often becomes falsehood." The only "wrong" is that we were caught, and the State Department has not admitted that. On the contrary, the action is seen as a virtue, as fulfilling our duty to the Free World, which, says Secretary Herter, "The United States has not and does not shirk." Perhaps it was unduly sanguine for me to think that for this country such an approach to duty died with the principle of manifest destiny.

Nevertheless, in my naïveté I have been all along thinking we were the "good guys" and the Soviets were the "bad guys." Of course, my naïveté was never total. Some of the things we have done in South America or our methods of obtaining bases throughout the world may have been open to question; still, our reaction to the British-French Suez invasion and our forbearance toward Castro helped to redeem us from unreserved cynicism and expediency. In many cases we exacted a *quid* for a *quo*; yet few nations, so I have believed, have so consistently acted honorably. Even allowing for Yankee exaggeration, the viciousness of the Soviet state has always been apparent; even allowing for the high-blown rhetoric and fatuousness of our moral-

sounding leaders, the genuine decency of the United States has always been cherished. The Russians were the Machiavellis; we were the Galahads. Or so I had been led to think by Authoritative Sources. This essential honesty and goodness is certainly the image our nation has tried to present to the world, and it has been the image accepted as reasonably representative by most non-ugly Americans.

With this golden image as a backdrop, it was annoying at the very least to hear the words of our wise political leaders. A few Congressmen like Devine of Ohio conceded that the Russians had a right to down the U-2. Senators Mansfield and Johnson, displaying the non-partisanship of the loyal opposition, counseled us to stand behind the President and trust our diplomats. How completely, though, should one's trust be given? In his 1960 State of the Union message, President Eisenhower urged "a reexamination of our own relation to the International Court of Justice." Specifically, he advised the Senate to look with favor on "a resolution which would repeal our present self-judging reservation." At the moment he spoke, the United States was engaged in not shirking its responsibility by directly violating international law by "penetration" of the borders of another nation. But this was not cynical! Cynicism enters when Khrushchev uses Powers' capture for meretricious propaganda purposes. The White House breaks a law and is praised for responsibility and vigilance; the Kremlin captures a spy and is condemned for irresponsibly toying with peace.

One would think that whatever moral position we had has been utterly abandoned, that the pretext of morality has been given up. Not so. Our State Department has evolved a higher morality. A Presidential directive ordering the use of every possible means to promote security is interpreted as authorization for provocative acts. In effect, an act of war is now delegated to "weather observers"; the act, moreover, is said to be in the hallowed tradition of American unselfishness; it is our way of cutting holes in the Iron Curtain. There can be no better illustration of the philosophy of ends justifying means. And how, only a few years ago, America rejected McCarthyism for its trifling with truth and honor.

One would expect from a totalitarian state the credo that a thing is wrong only if it doesn't "work" — i.e. if you're caught with your hand in the till. Here in the heartland of righteousness, such a philosophy is, or has been, publicly untenable. But to progress from the notion that being caught is wrong to the notion that nothing is wrong if it suits us is a rather sophisticated and slippery step for All-American boys and girls. And so, instead of being revolted by our government's imitation of totalitarian ethics, the man in the street outdoes his leaders in espousing the "new realism." Comments from militant citizens urge that we retaliate for

the downing of the U-2 by sinking Russian trawlers and submarines in international waters. Television newscasters refer jocularly to "the spy in the sky." On the program of America's late-hour-favorite, Jack Paar, the audience enthusiastically approved a suggestion that Powers "be given a ticker tape parade" if he gets back. Also on the Paar show (May 10) the pious thought was expressed that our country needs boys to take the chance Powers took. Peace-loving Americans ought to be comforted to know that there are boys willing to take a \$2,500 a month chance.

In a straight Associated Press news item, datelined Washington, May 10, the U-2 flights are justified on the basis that "the Western world is forced to employ such means as it can to put together from the most fragmentary bits and pieces an estimate of what the whole Soviet military jigsaw puzzle looks like." On the other hand, the Soviets need not make flights because they have easy access to information. The AP dispatch says: "If anyone wants to know where and how many bases are being built or scheduled for the launching of intercontinental ballistic missiles, he has only to telephone the Pentagon and be given the information." Try it sometime. And anyway, in the light of recent information about "an unarmed civilian plane" which drifted over Soviet territory, this source of information may well be slightly unreliable. Powers' was hardly in a Piper Cub, and 1,200 miles is a lengthy drift.

Scripps-Howard columnist Ed Koterba does not follow the AP line. He tells of an Air Force officer who "pointed out off-handedly that Soviet planes frequently penetrate the North American boundaries." Apparently, then, the Russians cannot always get an open trunk line to the Pentagon. Koterba also sees the spy case as a cause for "rejoicing." The CIA "produced its first solid piece of evidence of real honest-to-goodness spying — what we're paying good hard-earned money for." This is Newspeak with a vengeance.

Perhaps I am foolish to expect my fellow citizens to enroll in a noble crusade of indignation. After all, revulsion cannot be spread too thin. Hoffa, Clark and Van Doren have probably so drained the pools of indignation that nothing is left to be spent on a national policy patterned on their behavior. Besides, Hoffa, Clark and Van Doren are not unprincipled, atheistic Communists, but misguided lads who made a mistake but really should have known better.

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[MR. ST. ONGE, in his letter accompanying the above comment, wrote: "I have none of the usual qualifications for speaking out on international affairs. I am merely a 32-year-old PhD candidate and English teacher at Ohio State University. But I have three young daughters who may wind up as fuel in a hydrogen furnace and I feel that the future of my children gives me some sort of qualification."]

## Denizens of Rural Slums

Blaise Pascal would be taken aback if he could know, in his Jansenist heaven, that his name would be invoked in the American Presidential campaign of 1960. Yet protagonists of the ill-fated public education and public health programs could find in Pascal's Law a neat analogue to explain their agitation, or so it seems to a superficial observer.

Pascal's Law is the discovery that a fluid in a container exerts equal pressure in all directions. Its applicability to the existing situation is not immediately apparent because, although we know that the population of the United States exhibits many of the characteristics of a fluid, we seldom make the obvious inference, to wit, its pressure tends to be evenly distributed.

No one argues seriously today that a depressed economy results in no deterioration of the human stock in the area affected. It does. But few of us, except such eggheads as Steinbeck, the novelist, and Odum, the sociologist, have made much of it. Yet in 1950 the census report showed 25.2 percent of the population of this country resident in other than their native states. The proportion has been rising for 50 years, and there is every reason to believe that the figure in 1960 will be higher than 25.2, probably much higher.

It is known, also, that this mobility is not confined to the upper income brackets, but includes a large number of victims of chronic depression. The trek of the Okies, in Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*, is merely the most celebrated record of a movement that is continuous. The flow of the Displaced Persons is not a phenomenon confined to war-torn regions abroad; it goes on steadily even in this uninvaded country.

The practical result of this is that if children grow up anywhere – among Negroes of Mississippi, Oakies of the Dust Bowl, miners of Pennsylvania, inhabitants of the cut-over lands of Michigan, anywhere – in an environment productive of ignorance, superstition, malnutrition, and infection, many of them will appear as adults in Detroit, New York, Baltimore and other industrial cities; and they will bring their ignorance, superstition, weakness and infections with them.

As long as the population retains the mobility of a fluid, it will exert pressure equally in all directions; which means that any evil present in one part tends to spread evenly throughout the whole. As a matter of

enlightened self-interest, then, the more prosperous regions are justified in making every reasonable effort to eliminate the bad spots, especially as the unfavorable environment affects the children in such places; for within a few years they will be swarming to the cities.

What that means is known only too well to every urban social worker, and perhaps even better to every city policeman. It is a cliché that what we call juvenile delinquency is largely a reflection of parental delinquency; but we have no sort of reliable measurement of how much parental delinquency is due to moral turpitude and how much to a country up-bringing in which the parents had no opportunity to learn how to live under urban conditions. Being themselves uninformed, how can they instruct their children?

Certainly the cities owe much of their vigor and prosperity to the influx of strong and willing workers from the rural hinterland; but they also owe much of their poverty, disease, and crime to the influx of semi-barbarous denizens of rural slums – often the most horrifying ulcers upon the body politic.

It is more than a century since Lincoln observed that the country could not continue to exist half-slave and half-free. Slowly we are beginning to realize that neither can it continue to exist three-quarters civilized and one-quarter semi-savage. One-tenth is probably the highest proportion of Poplarvilles that can be tolerated without grave danger to the whole social structure.

It is true enough that by no means are all the Yahoos products of a rural environment or of a depressed economy. Some of the most revolting sub-human specimens emerge among the well-nourished and well-heeled inhabitants of choice residential districts; but these are biological sports, hardly numerous enough to effect any massive social deterioration. No government can achieve complete social asepsis; it is enough to clean out the notoriously foul breeding-places of bad citizenship.

But this it must endeavor to do, not out of any bleeding-heart sentimentality, nor even out of genuine altruism, but as a hard-headed, perhaps even hard-hearted, measure of self-protection. For as long as witchcraft delusions and quack medicine, quack religion, and quack politics flourish unchallenged in the most remote backwoods community, their traces will soon appear in the most civilized. Pascal's Law will see to that.

# Less for Private Spending?

by Leon H. Keyserling

It has become fashionable for liberals to say that we should cut back on the private consumption of luxuries and even *necessities* (principally by higher tax rates) in order to channel more resources into essential public programs. While the need for a vast expansion of these public programs is imperative, the current crusade against private consumption is, in my opinion, a highly erroneous one.

It is economically in error because, during the past seven years or longer, we have experienced a long-term and serious rise in unemployment of plant and manpower, resulting not only from deficiencies in public outlays, but also from deficiencies in private consumption and investment. Roughly speaking, during this period, a deficiency of about \$205 billion in total national production, correlating with about 15 million man-years of unnecessary unemployment, has been compounded of deficiencies of about \$130 billion in private consumption, about \$51 billion in private investment, and about \$24 billion in public outlays for "goods and services" at all levels of government. Due to the difference between "goods and services" outlays and conventional budget outlays, public budgetary outlays as usually expressed have been about \$40-\$50 billion too low.

Let us suppose that during the past seven years we had repressed considerably more than we actually did the rate of expansion of private consumption by still higher tax rates, and put the "gains" thus achieved into highly essential public programs, such as schools, medical care, defense, etc. In that event, more public spending, balanced by less private consumer spending, would still have left us, broadly speaking, with a \$205 billion deficit in total national production and a deficit of 15 million man-years of employment opportunity. Higher tax rates, under conditions then pertaining, might have forced our total economic performance still lower, with still larger deficits. And, psychologically and politically, an American people suffering as they have been from rising unemployment, and in the case of millions, real deprivation, would not have supported much higher tax rates for higher public outlays – including outlays "to help furriners."

To be sure, federal investment in our public needs

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should have been much higher during the past seven years. But this should not have been accompanied by higher tax rates or other measures to repress private consumption *until* total private and public spending became high enough to exert undue pressure upon our productive output at reasonably full employment of manpower and plant. It is by now standard economics, certainly confirmed by all recent experience, that efforts to "balance the Budget" when unemployment of plant and manpower is high and rising is self-defeating from the viewpoint of the Budget and the national economy. The revenues resulting from higher economic growth would have come much closer to balancing public budgets despite much higher outlays.

The "anti-consumptionists" say that schools are needed more than tailfins, and so they are. But in 1955, we were producing about 9 million automobiles and trucks. Within two or three years thereafter, the production was cut back to only about one-half of 9 million, and in 1960 it is likely to be only about two-thirds of 9 million. In addition, we are witnessing a great shift from luxurious automobiles to compact cars. These changes have added to the progressive unemployment of plant and manpower, because they have been one aspect of a *deficiency in total consumer spending* rather than a mere shift away from automobiles and toward other consumer goods which some may think are intrinsically more worthwhile.

These comments are just as pertinent to the future as to the past. To use our productive resources reasonably fully, we must achieve about \$350 billion *more* of total national product in the aggregate during the five-year period between now and the end of 1964 than we shall have if there is a repeat performance of the very low growth rate of the past seven years. To devote most of this immense difference to expanded public programs would require that the federal Budget be approximately *doubled* almost at once – a procedure bearing no relationship to the desirable speed-up of public programs. Instead, the racing new technology calls imperatively for a balanced expansion of *both* private consumption and public programs.

Of course, the new white Cadillac Eldorados which some people buy every year, and the new luxury hotels at Miami and Palm Springs, stand in vivid contrast to overcrowded classrooms and odoriferous cities. But they stand in equally vivid contrast to the magnificent public bridges and roads in some of our cities, and the private poverty in the slums in close proximity. And

even some of our recently burgeoning public universities, with hundreds of millions in endowments, are building luxuriously wasteful eating halls and recreation centers, while the poor who live nearby can't send their children through high school.

Actually, there is little evidence that during the past quarter century our private economic progress has out-run our public progress. In absolute terms, we have made tremendous advances in schools and public hospitals and the other markers of public endeavor, just as we have made tremendous economic progress in private well-being. But measured against the technology of today, we are grossly delinquent on both fronts.

Specifically, more than 40 million Americans, including multiple-person families and individuals living alone, are now trying to make ends meet on incomes falling below the established requirements to support even minimum health and a decent standard of living. The incomes of perhaps half of these families do not come up to 50 percent of these requirements. Four out of every 10 of our families, where the family head is 65 or over, have total income below \$2,000. Three farm-operator families in every 10 are grouped below \$2,000.

More public services alone will not remedy this evil. The removal of poverty is basically a matter of private income improvement through industrial advances which provide more work opportunity for more people at better pay, social security expansion, improved minimum wage laws, public aid to help reduce the high cost to consumers of adequate housing and medical care, and so forth. It is curious that those who disparage the expansion of private consumption stress the liquidation of poverty. For poverty is insufficient income to *consume* enough (quantitatively or qualitatively or both) food, clothing, shelter, medical care, recreation and other things.

If American consumers, even while their total consumption is too low, are spending too much for "the wrong goods" and too little for "the right goods," the problem is educational, not economic. And if, with total consumer spending too low, some consumers can afford to spend too much for luxuries, while other consumers cannot afford to spend enough for necessities, the problem is to promote shifts in the distribution of total consumer income, not to reduce total consumer spending – and above all, not to reduce it regressively, which inadequate expansion of total consumption usually does.

If we maintain a full rate of economic growth, we can by 1964 expand private incomes and consumption enough to reduce the number of multiple-person families in America with incomes below \$4,000 from about 12 million to about 1.5 million. We can reduce those below \$2,000 from about 3.5 million to less than one-half million. And we can lift average American multiple-person family income from about \$7,000 to about \$9,000 a year.

Simultaneously, with full economic growth, we can (*at existing tax rates* and with public budgets in balance over the years) lift our total educational outlays, private and public, from somewhat above \$22 billion in the school year 1958-59 to about \$38 billion by the school year 1964-65; come close to doubling average social security payments to individuals by 1964; lift federal assistance to public-financed health services from less than \$4.50 per capita (related to the entire US population) in fiscal 1960 to more than \$17 per capita by calendar 1964; lift federal outlays to improve housing conditions from about \$3 per capita to about \$11.50 per capita over the same period; expand federal outlays for natural resources from less than \$10 per capita to about \$13; and lift our outlays for economic and technical development overseas from about \$1.7 billion to close to \$4 billion. And if the international situation so requires, we can increase national security expenditures by the amounts urged by those experts who are not tailoring our defense outlays to the public revenues yielded by a stagnating economy. With all of this, in a fully expanding economy, the federal Budget would by 1964 be a substantially lower percentage of our total national production than during recent years, thus leaving room for more private economic progress not only in absolute but even in relative terms.

The worldwide situation should warn us against insisting that we can serve one great purpose only by neglecting others. The determination of the Soviets to use their existing total output in accord with their relative priorities of need never for a moment blinds them to the fact that they must achieve a maximum rate of over-all economic growth, and therefore be able to sustain more and more varieties of advance. To date, as an underdeveloped country relative to ours, the Russians have given highest priority (aside from the military) to the industrial base, science and technology, and education, precisely because they know that this opens the avenue to higher living standards for their families in the long run. In the years ahead, they will improve these living standards at a rapid rate.

If we respond to this challenge correctly instead of being panicked by it, we shall use our intrinsically superior economic and political systems to keep ahead on all important fronts. We shall not neglect over-all economic growth, nor desirable public services. We shall not say that the battle cry for better wages, higher farm incomes, and improved distribution of national income in the private sectors of our economy represents old clichés unadjusted to new times. We shall not say that going beyond the New Deal and the Fair Deal calls for a return to the earlier concepts of 19th-Century socialism – based upon the redistribution of economic scarcity.

We shall go beyond the reforms of these earlier times to the abundance of the Sixties.

# BOOKS AND THE ARTS

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## *A Bedside Reader for Intellectuals*

by David M. Potter

One way of describing *The End of Ideology* would be to say that it consists of sixteen essays by Daniel Bell, removed with some modifications from sixteen different books or magazines and put between hard covers. One must ask, then, is this simply a one-man show of Bell's pieces, hung by the Free Press – a bedside anthology for intellectuals – or does it embody a whole greater than the sum of the parts? In their variety, the essays seem thoroughly disparate, ranging

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*The End of Ideology*  
by Daniel Bell  
(Free Press; \$7.50)

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through a spectrum that embraces the history of the longshoremen, the evolution of the concept of scientific management, the diversity of theories which have been advanced to explain Soviet behavior, the doctrinal nuances of socialist thought, the fictitious nature of "crime waves," and other arresting themes. Taken as separate items most of them are superb. Since they are completely satisfying as free-standing units, and since Mr. Bell has made only a sketchy and limited effort to develop their bearing upon any central theme, the reader is not very strongly impelled to draw them together. But if it should be their fate to be treated simply as a collection, a real loss may result, for their cumulative effect is to open up some basic questions about the interpretation of society today.

Although he does not say so directly, Mr. Bell seems to be suggesting that the great issue of the last century and a half has lost much of its vitality as an issue, and that it never was as decisive an issue as men believed. This was the issue of equality. Elite thinkers dreaded equality because they believed it would enthrone mediocrity and sanction debased popular standards. Democratic and socialistic thinkers, although they

conceived of equality quite differently, both idealized it as a means of fulfillment which would release latent potentialities so that, as Trotsky said, "man would become immeasurably stronger, wiser, freer, his body more harmoniously proportioned, his movements more rhythmic, his voice more musical." But we now have some reason to doubt that equality is closely correlated to fulfillment, either inversely, as the élitists feared, or directly as the democrats and socialists hoped. Our culture, Mr. Bell argues, has attained considerable richness despite the conspicuous mediocrity of the mass media, and insofar as it is threatened, the threat comes from the technology of public communication and not from the social policy of equalitarianism. But if, on the one hand, he does not concede that the principle of equality, working in the context of a mass society, has forced anomie and alienation upon the individual, on the other hand he does not claim that it proved a safeguard against anomie and alienation in either democratic or socialistic societies. Indeed the workers in nationalized industries display a striking degree of apathy, while the incentive of our workers has been maintained only by, "a built-in automatic drive," namely the dictates of our standard of living, "aided and abetted by advertising and the installment plan, the two most fearsome inventions of man since the discovery of gunpowder." These stimuli, he suggests, provide more motivation than satisfaction for the sated but unfulfilled American.

Granted, that democracy and socialism have both promised optimum human fulfillment, and that both have in important ways failed to attain it, then the dialogue between them, which has dwelled obsessively upon the alternatives of individualism and collectivism must be regarded as irrelevant to the

objective. The answers which we gave with such intense ideological conviction were, in a sense, responses to the wrong question, for the problem was not how to attain equality, but how to attain fulfillment. At the same time, the vast reduction of the grosser forms of human deprivation (at least in this country) has rendered one of our goals obsolete by achieving it. In a sense the dominant social issue throughout most of human history has turned upon the allocation of labor in a productive system based on muscle and the allocation of goods in an economy where there was never enough to go around; but while the liberal and conservative stances which pertained to this issue still persist, automation has largely replaced muscle and surplus productive capacity has replaced scarcity. Hence, an end of ideology.

But if it is true that 19th-Century formulations of issues no longer fit 20th-Century problems, one is driven back to the initial question: what are now the major impediments to human fulfillment, beyond those which the nature of life itself imposes? On this problem, there have in recent years been two points of view which command some following. One holds that modern man suffers from the destruction of small, organic, personalized, closely-integrated communities in which he once found status, and that he is now the victim of the growth of vast megalopolitan populations in which he is depersonalized, fragmented, isolated, denatured, and plagued by status anxieties. The other holds that he suffers from a rationalizing and mechanizing tendency in the work-process, which has reduced work to an inhuman routine. Critics of these ideas have, of course, vigorously denied that either the psychologically-supportive community or the psychologically-fulfilling job were ever historically what social theorists have imagined.

As between these two, Mr. Bell seems clearly disposed to reject the first, and

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David M. Potter is Coe Professor of American History at Yale.

to argue that people in general are not so alienated as the intellectuals supposed them to be. But while he denies that mass society has resulted in widespread alienation, he does not deny that alienation has occurred, for he is seriously impressed by the problem of work and its discontents. Two of his points are especially striking, and perhaps basic: first, that the problem of work is always dealt with by remedies that are really extraneous – that is by diminishing the span of work (hours), or paying men more to tolerate it (wages), or making the social aspects of the job attractive (personnel relations), but almost never by trying to give the work itself a rhythm or a content that would make it intrinsically rewarding. Second, that we have never dealt with work in its context as a part of life, but have defined it in terms which are, even in the larger economic sense, narrow and unrealistic. For instance, the actual cost of bringing workers daily to the materials they work on, at large central factories, is greater than would be the cost of bringing materials to those who work on them at smaller, decentralized plants. But this fact leads nowhere, because the expense of moving workers is borne by them individually, and is hardly recognized as a cost.

The long-standing, overarching, ideological controversy between right and left, conservative and liberal, have and have-not, has led us to assume that these present the polar extremities of

all possible social thought. Because of this assumption we sometimes fail to note how many social questions there are on which the traditional opposing positions fail to offer any solution at all, much less alternative solutions. Both left-wing and right-wing thought accept the idea of a rationalized society, which is to say the depersonalized system in which man tends to become an interchangeable part of a link in the chain. Both accept maximum productivity as an economic goal without any attention to what economic abundance implies for the imperative of productivity. Both treat work as a necessary evil to be borne for the sake of compensation rather than of fulfillment. Both look at the vast, impending problem of free time (not to be confused with either leisure or relaxation or recreation) with a blank stare. Yet in all of these matters, there is room for policy. In all matters of policy there is room for ideology. If ideology stands now at low ebb, this stance must be presumed to mark not an end of ideology, nor merely an era of social complacency, but an interlude – perhaps a long one – in which undiscovered problems must be perceived and defined before those rationalizations of social policy which we call ideology can be formulated and brought to bear upon them. This is not precisely what Mr. Bell says, but it is what one reader takes his book in part to mean, and it is what his several essays illuminate from a rich variety of directions.

assured him that his books were even funnier in French: "Ah, yes. I lose something in the original."

The original admits to being born Pearl Reid Skirvin, with a silver spoon in her mouth. In 1917 she married George Mesta of Pittsburgh's Mesta Machine Company money; the silver spoon turned to gold and she took up politics and society. Since her husband's death in 1925 she has not changed her surname but the Pearl became Perle when Mrs. Mesta became a Democrat in 1944. In the past 35 years she has traveled the country and the Continent. Homes and parties she has everywhere but Washington has her heart.

Our ex-(1949-1953) Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg likes Ike (and also Harry), having people name children after her, antiques, Elsa Maxwell (the juxtaposition is my naughty doing), playing matchmaker, her whole family and music. She cares less for books ("I never can find the time to read") and she didn't care very much for Jack Kennedy's showing up at one of her parties wearing brown loafers with his tuxedo. If she omits her birthdate she includes a more pertinent item: For Ike's recipe for potato salad, turn to page 172. If she drops a lot of names in her book, turn about is fair play: the names usually drop in on her.

As these as-told-to autobiographies go, Perle Mesta's is far from being the worst of the lot. It jerks at no heart strings, takes no underhanded digs at the enemy and, if only selectively candid, never seems dishonest. She's to be laughed with as well as at. The anecdotes and the collaborator are good. Mrs. Mesta's enthusiasm for life runs high and is contagious.

The book gets into trouble only when the authoress stops describing parties and starts explaining them, when instead of just giving a party she ponders its purpose and its value. One hundred pages after choosing the dance floor over the Senate floor she feels a need to reopen the debate: "It is impossible to determine precisely how much is actually accomplished at Washington social gatherings. Much of the benefit may be indirect. Sometimes friendships made at parties turn out to be helpful years later. And sometimes people attribute more

## Call Her Madam

by Susan M. Black

Mr. Khrushchev likes summits but once found the kitchen cabinet level just the right height for a diplomatic encounter. Mrs. Mesta at all times pre-

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*Perle, My Story*  
by Perle Mesta with Robert Cahn  
(McGraw-Hill; \$4.50)

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fers her politics at parties: "In an atmosphere of good food, music, and gracious women, differences sometimes can be settled or important matters of policy worked out. A Cabinet member who might not want to be seen going to

call on a senator at his office may be able to settle a problem with him off in a quiet corner at a party. Or a legislator can say to a colleague over a demitasse, 'What's wrong with my bill?' and get a forthright, unrestrained answer that would not be possible if the two men were clashing on the floor of the House or Senate." Just like it says in *Advise and Consent*.

It all seemed a little funnier when Ethel Merman, burlesquing Perle Mesta in *Call Me Madam* a decade ago, expressed such sagacities in song. James Thurber explained why to the young lady who

weight to party conversations than is deserved." After giving a party for Clare Boothe Luce (guests included the Brazilian Ambassador, a Senator on the Foreign Relations Committee which passes on ambassadorial appointments, the Senate Majority Leader, etc.) she comments: "And even though Clare later declined her ambassadorship so that the purpose of my party was largely lost, I'm sure that all of my guests at least had a memorable evening." At book's outset Mrs. Mesta writes: "'Partied it up at Perle Mesta's! How many times I've heard that line. Some people

seem to think that my life has been one long party . . . I love to give parties and and I am flattered if I am sometimes referred to as the Hostess with the Mostes'. But even so, I like to think I have done something more in my life than just give parties, and I hope this will be evident to readers of these pages." It seems downright unfriendly to say that it was not made at all evident to this reader.

But Washington comes to drink and dine. Washington is dancing these days, and Mrs. Mesta is willing and able to pay the piper.

## The Discomforts of Power

by Robert Lekachman

In the introduction, the best essay in this book, Professor Mason calls somewhat wistfully for a "20th-Century Hobbes or Locke to bring some order into our thinking about the corporation and its role in society." The distinguished contributors to this symposium — three lawyers, eight economists, two political scientists, and a sociologist — illustrate the need perfectly: they are fourteen theorists in search of a theory. What they are hunting is an explana-

*The Corporation in Modern Society*  
edited by Edward S. Mason  
(Harvard; \$6.75)

tion of the way the large corporation ticks. In American manufacturing, 130 or so giants control half of total output. The 500 biggest business units are responsible for nearly two-thirds of economic activity outside of the farm. A very few thousand executives direct these organizations, and since management is equivalent to control, these few Americans have vast authority over the lives we all lead.

Who has selected these men? To whom are they responsible? Until comparatively recently, conservatives defined away questions like these with a durable myth, the argument that the consumer is sovereign in a free enterprise economy. If some companies waxed large, it was because consumers loved their products. In its essence the myth harked back to the proposition that the

selfishness and aggressiveness of economic behavior were rendered not only harmless but socially beneficial by the salutary discipline of competition.

It is dubious whether anybody fully believes this myth any longer, with the possible exception of Mr. Eisenhower. Our corporate society is not composed of tiny business units, struggling desperately to stay above water. The huge companies which dominate the scene do a great deal more than passively accept the dollar verdicts of their customers, as the size of their advertising appropriations gives witness.

What does power mean in this context? It implies a great many concrete capacities. The research and marketing decisions of the corporate managers largely control the rate of technical innovation and the dynamic of economic growth. These few thousand men strongly influence the level of investment, income, and employment by their decisions to expand or not to expand. They deeply affect the fate of communities and whole regions by choosing to place new plants in one place rather than another. For the ordinary employee, executives define the quality of the work experience. For college graduates, the corporation creates the image of bureaucratic man to which the apprentice necessarily conforms.

American tradition is usually wary of power. It is the more uneasy when those who exercise it choose themselves and are held to no general accountability.

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With native American optimism, writers on this subject have in general followed two cheerful approaches. Galbraith's famous hypothesis of countervailing power emphasizes the capacity of the giants to control or counterbalance each other. The moral was that we need fear General Motors less because the United Automobile Workers as the supplier of its labor and United States Steel as one of the suppliers of its steel tended to set limits on the pricing and profit policies

of the company. But as Galbraith himself indicated, the hypothesis works poorly during inflations. Moreover, there is always the unpleasant possibility that the giants will decide to collide with each other rather than collide.

The second approach to power insists upon its benevolent use. Among others, Adolf Berle has argued that the important limitation upon corporation action has been the evolution of a corporate conscience. This conscience prevents responsible executives from making decisions which ignore their several publics: the communities where they are located, the workers who staff their plants, the stockholders, the customers, and the community at large. It is hard to know how much weight to attach to such sweeping conclusions. The sour-minded might wonder how much of this great change is the invention of the fertile brains of public relations men. Even if it could be demonstrated that businessmen felt a deeper sense of public concern than they did a generation ago, many hard questions remain to be handled. How is this corporate conscience formed? In what fashion does it influ-

ence the decisions of businessmen? Where the new corporate conscience conflicts with a profit-making opportunity what rationale aids the executive to make his choices? Professor Mason's query is the hardest of all: even if we judge that our corporate governors are benevolent, should we be happy with a government not of our choosing?

Neither the law, nor the social sciences now possesses an adequate, realistic theory of how the corporation operates. Legal theory is little more than a series of fictions about stockholder rights and management duties which conceal rather than illuminate corporate affairs. So

far sociologists have told us very little about the way in which corporate executives select their subordinates and ultimate successors, a question conceivably as vital as how we select our Presidents and Congressmen. Economists are in the worst position of all, because they once owned a highly articulated explanation of how power was dispersed among the atoms of a competitive society, and now possess no adequate theoretical replacement. In short, these essays constitute an excellent prolegomena to a new theory of corporate power. All we lack is the later day Hobbes or Locke to construct it.

## THE CAMPAIGN AND ITS LITERATURE

### *Mutterings from Tombstone Territory*

The Hon. Barry Goldwater, Senator from Arizona, is really priceless. This is the testimony of a witness who disagrees with his major premise, therefore with all his conclusions; but if to know the exact position of your opponent is an advantage in any contest, then liberals should welcome the Senator's book. As a rule, the more extreme conservatives are inarticulate, which makes it difficult to determine exactly

*The Conscience of a Conservative*  
by Barry Goldwater  
(Victor; \$3)

where they stand; thus the appearance of one who is highly vocal tends to clear the air.

However, "conservative" is a ridiculously inadequate term to describe the Senator, and even "reactionary" is somewhat misleading, for as it is commonly interpreted a reactionary is one with no ideas at all. Senator Goldwater has at least one idea, and if it happens to be wrong, it is still an idea. He does not state it in words, but implicitly his book is a proclamation that the supreme interpreter of the Constitution was not Hamilton, or Madison, or Jefferson, or Marshall, but John C. Calhoun. True, he pays no attention to Calhoun's weird doctrine of the concurrent majority, perhaps because it is a little too

advanced for Goldwater, but Calhoun's faith in the verbal inspiration of the document of 1787 is the bedrock of the Goldwater philosophy.

This makes him a violent opponent of the Welfare State in its every manifestation at home, and, abroad, an advocate, not of ending the Cold War, but, as he says, of winning it. The extreme pessimism of this attitude escapes him, for, although like the Communists he is persuaded that he is in possession of all truth, there are two items that he has never apprehended: the first is that in the modern world no state that is not very largely a Welfare State can long survive as a state of any kind; the other is that if we accept General MacArthur's dictum that "there is no substitute for victory" in war, then we are done for, since there is no such thing as victory in an all-out war.

What it comes to, then, is that Senator Goldwater advises us that we must not become a Welfare State, although "to promote the general welfare" is the condition of survival of any modern state; and the Cold War we must win, although there is no such thing as victory. That is to say, the Senator offers nothing. But this is not conservatism, and not reaction; it is what Turgenev called nihilism, the one Russian political philosophy that is even emptier than Communism. GERALD W. JOHNSON



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## ART

## Rebels and the New Conformity

A couple of factors in 20th-Century American art came full circle recently when a group of artists, mostly in or around New York, presented a letter of protest to the director of the Whitney Museum. For one thing, the Whitney itself came into existence as a kind of protest, specifically against the attitude of the Metropolitan in turning down the Whitney collection of American art, with which gift would have gone funds for housing and maintaining the collection. For another, right up until World War II the protest of American artists against American museums was that the museums didn't recognize the artists. The new protest is addressed to the one museum that was founded to recognize American artists; and the burden of the protest is that the present-day American museum, far from ignoring American art, not only recognizes that art but in so doing influences that art to develop along certain lines.

The artists who signed this protest are neither arid academicians nor bearded youths demanding that the oyster of the world open at their first cry. Here are their names: David Aaronson, Louis Bouché, Marvin Cheney, Ruth Gikow, Robert Gwathmey, Joseph Hirsch, Edward Hopper, Jo Hopper, John Koch, Edward Laning, Jacob Lawrence, Leonid, David Levine, Jack Levine, Edward Melcarth, Ogden Pleissner, Henry Var-num Poor, Katherine Schmidt, Joseph Solmon, Moses Soyer, Raphael Soyer and Sol Wilson.

The artists began their letter of protest by describing themselves as "deeply disturbed by the role of museums in the contemporary art scene." This is the broadest and, I think, the most important question raised by the letter, but it is never really developed in the rest of the statement. The statement proceeds to praise the Whitney's historic importance in American art and to single out for special praise the Whitney's opening declaration in 1931: "It would be presumptuous to point out the road on which art should travel. . . . It is not our intention to found a school."

The artists state that in their view "the Whitney, in its annual shows, has forgotten these words." They then classify the 145 paintings in the last Whitney annual and conclude that there were only "nine paintings in which the image had not receded or disappeared." They conclude that "this insistence on one form of expression has resulted in conformism and a stultifying atmosphere." They note that "there are artists who have not been swayed by the dictates of fashion or seduced by speculation in art futures, artists who richly deserve the 'sympathy and support of the Whitney Museum'" and ask for a re-evaluation of policy.

There are a lot of reservations to be

made about the artists' statement, the most important having to do with how far the Whitney Museum is responsible for the situation the artists accurately describe. As an observer of Whitney annuals over the years, I have never been aware of any effort on the part of the museum to push non-objective art. If the museum is so pushing, its right hand obviously doesn't know what its left hand is doing, since the one-man shows and related or unrelated publications of the museum have for some years been strongly devoted to representational painting and sculpture. Earlier this year, for example, was a major exhibition-publication devoted to William Zorach. Last year saw the emergence of the Robey Foundation collection, as some kind of Whitney enclave, almost wholly representational. Even as the artists' protest was being delivered, the Whitney was showing the paintings of Philip Evergood.

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Whitney, the right and the left are clearly the same hand; the people who choose artists for one-man shows or for monographs, the people who guided the Robey Foundation, are the same people who select the annual. The Whitney annual is not judged by a jury in the usual sense of the term; the whole show is invitational. It is based, ultimately, on the art experience of the staff in the past twelve months. Necessarily that experience is shaped chiefly by exhibitions in New York galleries and in museums around the country where staff members speak or jury regional shows. What imbalance there has been in the annuals of recent years I suggest is due to a larger imbalance in the total American art scene.

Another problem is posed by the artists' use of "the image . . . receded or disappeared" as a useful category in contemporary painting. In that context "receded" is meaningless. In the list of signers, for example, the image has certainly receded from what meets the hypothetical neutral eye in paintings by Aaronson, Gwathmey, Gikow, Lawrence, and Jack Levine, to pick a few. The image of nature has certainly receded in works by Sheeler, Shahn, O'Keeffe, Rattner, Weber, Bishop, Burchfield and Knaths, to name a few painters whose connection with the Whitney has been more than passing. Yet in all these artists nature is still a factor, nature observed as well as nature understood, nature revealed as well as nature reported. Beyond the element of nature, or the image, all these painters are rational artists. They all have something to say about life and they say it with reason operating both in the area of life observed and in the area of painting planned. It is along these lines, I think, that the battle in today's painting and in today's art institutions ought

to be fought, rather than along the line of the image unreceded.

The Whitney annuals have suffered to some extent by the prevalence of large, pointless paintings made only of paint, but the Whitney created neither the paintings nor the vogue for them. The art dealer in New York and the art museum outside New York have undergone profound changes in recent years and those changes between them are as responsible for the vogue as anything. The dealer as an institution has been "augmented," as they say in television, by two new places of exposure for art: the vanity gallery, which is simply a very high priced realty sub-letting operation; and the artists' cooperative gallery. Both these new things look as

much like dealers' galleries as possible, but neither has the essential ingredient, an objective, confident taste.

The museums for their part have taken on the most difficult and exciting function of the traditional dealer, the discovery of new talent. The museum by its nature is a kind of encyclopedia, or at any rate a visual history; too many museums, in late years, have transformed themselves into the daily paper. The problem is worsened by the existence of a wire service; the papers all publish not only the same news but the same stories; reporters interview reporters and create, as the protesting artists note, "a situation inimical to the development of the individual artist and American art." FRANK GETLEIN

## THEATER

### Broadway's Offstage Noises

Every year, Broadway celebrates the silly season with a ponderous ritual of self-praise called the Antoinette Perry ("Tony") Presentation Ceremonies. In the course of this spring rite, while TV cameras dolly back and forth between the glittering celebrities on the rostrum and the dutiful claque at the tables, the theater Establishment awards itself a number of merit badges for its own plays and performances. Although it is also an occasion for the speakers to make superior digs at the Academy awards, the Tony is really the exact theatrical equivalent of the Oscars. Both the film and theater industries like to disguise their enormous devotion to money and popular success under the pretense of rewarding artistic achievement; yet, in both cases, the sole criterion of excellence is the box office. It is true that Hollywood, unlike Broadway, will occasionally permit a notable work to reach the nomination stage (this year, *Wild Strawberries* contended with *Pillow Talk*—and lost—in the category of Best Original Screenplay), but I suspect that Broadway would also make such a feeble gesture if it had any artworks available to nominate. Anyhow, the Tony operation is as mechanical as a National cash register and nobody but the winners takes the awards very ser-

iously. So I will not bother to tell you who collected them, except to mention that most of the prizes went to a musical too treacley even for the daily reviewers to keep down their throats, a work distinguished only by having the largest advance sale in the history of the theater.

What has become extremely offensive, however, is the insincerity, meretriciousness, and sheer vulgarity of the ceremony. My stomach began to turn when Helen Hayes announced that Broadway actors were the most glamorous, witty, and charming people in the world; flipped over on its side when Helen Menken, her voice quivering with emotion, handed a special award to John D. Rockefeller III, presumably in tribute to his bank account; and yielded its contents completely when Mary Martin recited, as an inspirational guide to career success for the drama students in the gallery, the entire lyric of Oscar Hammerstein's "I'll Climb Every Mountain." Broadway luminaries have never been famous for their intelligence, modesty or good taste, but before the mass media cultivated a national craving for idiocy we were generally spared any lengthy exposure to their minds. Now that the American acting profession seems to have lost its dedication to any-

### BEST PLAY

— N. Y. Drama Critics Circle 1960

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thing higher than fame and fortune, perhaps it is appropriately represented by the bejewelled, befurred, and benighted creatures who participated in this tasteless charade; but I cannot completely suppress my nostalgia for the time when acting was a calling and not merely a form of self-aggrandizement. The Tony ceremony gives truth to the bromide that "the great big wonderful heart of show biz" is composed entirely of gold, studded here and there with rhinestones and sequins.

If the Tony awards indicate that players to use Hamlet's words, should "speak no more than is set down for them," the latest utterances of Tennessee Williams suggest that extra-dramatic silences might be requested from playwrights as well. Mr. Williams' public pronouncements have multiplied as his fame has spread, becoming—like his plays—increasingly exhibitionistic with each passing year. His latest exposure of his private life took the form of an interview published in *The New York Times* where, among other personal confessions, Williams both publicized and interpreted his recent breach with Elia Kazan. "The fact is," said Williams, "Kazan has been falsely blamed for my own desire for success. . . . It's quite true that I want to reach a mass audience. I feel it can dig what I have to say, perhaps better than a lot of intellectuals can. I'm not an intellectual. And perhaps, at times, I've exceeded the dignified limits in trying to hold an audience, but it's wrong to blame Kazan for this. My cornpone melodrama is all my own. I want excitement in the theater."

The ambiguous and contradictory manner in which all this is expressed signifies that Williams is less confident of his position than the bald surfaces of his words would indicate; and I do not doubt that he still retains a good deal more understanding about the nature of Broadway compromise than almost anyone who works for our commercial stage. Yet, he has chosen to advertise a considered decision to conform to popular taste. What he is saying, once you remove the cant from his language, is that he prefers the easy admiration of the mink matrons and expense account executives (Broadway's "mass audience") to the respect of that smaller group which demands that his art be

uncompromisingly honest (the "intellectuals"), and that his work is frequently shaped accordingly. Where he differs from Kazan is that while Kazan's choice is much the same it is far less conscious, for Kazan possesses an instinctive rapport with the popular audience which Williams, a former highbrow, has always lacked. Thus, although Kazan seems more sympathetic to the social humanitarianism of Miller than to the sexual existentialism of Williams, he has always held the key to Williams' popular success, and it is in this light that Williams' agony over the "breach" must be regarded. We shall never know, until an unauthorized biography appears, at which point Williams stopped trying to be an artist and settled down to becoming a corporation, but I suspect the decision came right after the critical and commercial failure of *Camino Real*. It may still be too early to conclude that Williams reinforces Fitzgerald's sad insight that there are no second acts in American lives—like Fitzgerald, he may yet realize the talent he has abused—but his career currently demonstrates that the greatest enemy against which the American artist has to defend himself is his own insatiable appetite for universal love.

ROBERT BRUSTEIN

## Correspondence

The New Republic welcomes communications in regard to subject of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.

### The Charge of Bigotry

Sirs:

I wonder how many West Virginia voters were intimidated into voting for Senator Kennedy by certain pollsters' repeated allegations that half or more of Senator Humphrey's support would come from confessed religious bigots; I wonder how many not-so-well-off and not-so-proud West Virginians responded to Kennedy's oft-expressed benevolent concern for their unhappy economic plight; I wonder how many votes that magic name, FDR, Jr., garnered for Kennedy; I wonder how many of the more rural precincts that went to Ken-

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nedy by margins of 3 and 4 to one and more were swung by the vast and well-oiled Kennedy solely because their sense of fair play was outraged by the accusations of "ganging up" to stop Kennedy made against his rivals for the Democratic nomination; I wonder how many were misled by the extensive and long-time soft-sell campaign for Kennedy by the Republican press and politicians; and finally I wonder if the Massachusetts Senator would be able to carry West Virginia over Nixon in November.

As one of the many still clinging stubbornly to the hope of seeing Adlai Stevenson in the White House where he belongs, I am impressed, but not daunted by Kennedy's victory in West Virginia.

James Norvell  
Chicago, Illinois

### Murder in the Library

Sirs:

*The New Republic* and its pseudonymous reviewer, Raymond Stringer, should be congratulated on the lively and lucid review of Marjorie Fiske's important but neglected *Book Selection and Censorship* (May 16). It is not only about their self-censorship in the selection of books that librarians "tend to be timid," for they have, as a profession, not yet had the courage to make a much needed statement about the freedom of individuals to have access to library materials and services. Specifically, they have made no professional or organizational comment on the denial of public library services to Negroes in Memphis,

Tennessee and Petersburg, Virginia.  
I. M. Gemel  
Washington, D. C.

(P.S. The pseudonym above is used to avoid the complications of clearance with my employer, the Library of Congress.)

Sirs:

"Raymond Stringer's" review about librarians in quandaries at once reminded me of a little story so old that perhaps none of your readers ever heard it:

Old Lady: Could you recommend a nice novel?

Librarian: How about John Fox's *A Kentucky Cardinal*?

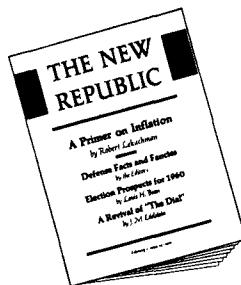
Old Lady, primly: I don't care for stories about priests.

Librarian, patiently: Oh well, this cardinal was a bird.

Old Lady, severely: That does not commend him to me.

G. W. Barnes  
New York, N. Y.

## Adlai E. Stevenson:



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### Toward a Rule of Law

Sirs:

Your editorial "Toward a Rule of Law" (May 9) brought forth some welcome comments regarding the International Court of Justice and our Connally Amendment. There are many idealistic reasons why the Connally Amendment should be rescinded. The self-judging reservation, first of all, runs counter to the Western principle that no man shall be a judge in his own case.

There is, however, a very practical reason for rescinding the self-judging reservation. US businessmen have \$45 billion invested in foreign countries. Over 700,000 Americans live abroad; 400,000 tourists each year leave for foreign shores. At present, the only defenses the United States government can offer against the unfair treatment of our nationals are negotiation, coercion, and invasion. If the World Court were given compulsory jurisdiction in disputes involving these persons and their legal rights, Americans and American investments in many countries of the world would come under the protection of law.

John McClaughry  
New York, N. Y.